2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

together. People wear shoes to church if they want to, while some ministers have judiciously refrained from doing so despite the cold stone floors.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way split developed between converts coming from the Gauda, Kumbara and Be:da phratries. Each claimed they were socially superior to the other two categories. In this village little intermarriage now occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Be:das and ex-Kumba:ras. They normally interdine but refuse to do so during holy festivals. They have no objection however to attending the same church service together. Somewhat similar retrospective factions appeared in the past between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants in the Roman Catholic community of Badagas, and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Société des missions-étrangères, 1928, vol. VII, 573; Pêrié, 1933, 100).

We thus find that factional divisions are a deep-seated feature of Badaga social organization. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go off to a distant university cleavages still occur among them which are marked by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction. One is tempted to see in this an urge for a periodic reorganization of the society.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

From the start of the century, the Christian community has been recognized by Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns of interaction have been formalized. During the period 1900–1947 the Hindus, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on an economy and a labour market that ultimately was controlled by the British. As a result partly of this, partly of assigning the Christians to a separate caste status, the acts of violence towards Badaga Christians came to an end. As many Hindu Badagas now found it lucrative to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British they could not at the same time be openly hostile to the religion of the British.

After the Christians became a separate phratry (made up of twelve clans; see Diagram 7, p. 76), and the moment the German Lutheran missionaries were expelled from India in 1914. French

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5–6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

621 recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself.
(793) There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed com-
(794) position, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the
(518) traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.
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The Factions

121 There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

121 518 There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (khaĉĉi, or in one dialect kha?ĉi; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (cf. Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

578 dozen of these are known, two of them antedating this century. These two will be discussed here; the others will be considered later when we examine recent social changes among the Badagas.

Apparently the first major faction, and certainly the most important if 175 judged by its effects, was that engendered by the activities of Christian missionaries 578 during the last century. From 1846, or possibly even earlier, a few missionaries 797 had worked among the Badagas and Todas (Stokes 1882: 175). In 1857 Abraham 578 Nerkamby became the first Badaga Christian (Eppler 1900: 153); and although this 797 and all subsequent conversions until about 1904 were the objects of bitter resent- 798 ment on the part of nearly all Badagas, the Badaga Christian community slowly swelled, and by 1904 ceased to be treated as a recalcitrant faction (Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-51). It instead became, in the eyes of other 578 Badagas, a separate caste or community not to be considered as Badaga at all. Until 798 that time, however, Christians received the usual treatment of an opposed faction: no intermarriage or interdining, little or no conversation, and occasional outbursts of violence or robbery (Eppler 1900: passim). The following case, one of many that have been recorded by the local missionaries, typifies the common situation.

> ... The two families of Titus and Benjamin, uncle and nephew, live together in a joint house at Chogatorre, some 30 or 40 paces behind the row of Badaga houses, and situated on their own land. [The two families are Badaga Christians.] Lakshma, a rich and influential inhabitant of the village... set himself to drive the two families away from their land and house. He began by seizing upon a piece of ground belonging to an orphan, a minor, and adjoining that of the Christians, and fenced it, so that the Christians were prevented from leaving their house, though for many years they had had the right of way on the edge of that property, and that right had been confirmed before witnesses before the father of the orphan before his death. As the Christians were thus prevented from coming to church and even from going to the nullah [creek] to fetch water, they were for a time in great distress... Nobody dared to assist them by bringing them water, not even at night for Lakshma had set a watch, and as most of the villagers were indebted to him, they were all afraid of him...

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

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> ... Though by the help of the native magistrate a way has been opened for the Christians by which they can get away from their houses now, they are still in trouble, especially about the water supply. The old mother of Titus, when fetching water one day, was thrown to the ground and illtreated by L's [Lakshma's] wife, and the children of the Christians were shot at, the ball however glanced from a rock and fell harmless in their midst. Only recently Lakshma sent a message to the Christians, threatening that within two months he would force them to leave their house and property. (Anonymous 1894: 550-51)

Behavior of this pattern characterizes the occasional outbursts of factional feeling in quite recent years, and is not restricted to disputes between Hindus and Christians.

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The second major dispute in Badaga history emerged during the last decades of the 19th Century and, like the conversions, is still the basis for a factional cleavage today. It concerned the claim of the Haruvas that they are superior in status to the Wodeyas and all other Badaga phratries. The Haruvas and those who support them -- preëminently the Gauda villages of Kunda division -- believe that the Haruvas were of the Brahmin varna before they left Mysore to settle in the Nilgiris. In support of this belief they cite the facts that they have always functioned as priests for the non-vegetarian Badagas, they are strictly vegetarians themselves, and they wear a thread across the shoulder. Opponents of the Haruva claim include the majority of all Badagas. They perhaps recognize that the Haruvas have no knowledge of Sanskrit or any other sacred literature -- since until this century they were all illiterate; furthermore, there is no ceremony for investiture of the "sacred" thread and no concept of being "twice-born". But the argument most generally used against the Haruvas' claim is that they are only priests in the Badaga temples because the various non-vegetarian phratries (preponderantly the Gaudas, of course) appointed them to act in this role; just as they appointed certain Toreyas, certain Kurumbas and certain Todas to act in special roles for the benefit of the entire village.

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Although it is the Wodeyas whom the Haruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Haruvas and Wodeyas. This is not too surprising, since Wodeyas are Lingayats, while Haruvas are not; Wodeyas do not employ Haruva priests; Wodeyas do not intermarry with Haruvas at all; and so Wodeya/Haruva interaction has always been minimal. The main clash in this dispute has been between Haruvas and most Gaudas, who resent the Haruva claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Haruvas; the other Gauda hamlets, together with most Toreya, Kapakka, Adikari and Kaggusi hamlets, have not only denounced the Haruva claim but have long ago broken off their traditional relations with the Haruvas. The Haruva priests have been supplanted by non-Haruva members of the hamlet; marriages with Haruva men and women have ceased, and already married couples were sometimes divorced by the hamlet headmen; interdining with Haruvas was stopped; and occasionally fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the traditional Haruva priests tried to perform their ritual functions and members of the anti-Haruva faction tried to stop them.

The Haruva dispute has never been "solved". In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants, and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrangement of marriages. This also seems to be the case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas.

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In Chapter VII we shall return to the topic of factionalism, for it has been a pervasive element in the socio-cultural changes of the 20th Century.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AW50 Badaga AW50

186 578 797 798 Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).

This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually ceased with national Independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by these words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Badagas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
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Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another factional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Virašaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined; and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

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578 hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the
•798 two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only con-
578 cerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily
665 the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

578 In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the
877 Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one
578 of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians
771 decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a
794 church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for
(793) a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk